

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00

NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20 USIA-15

SAM-01 NEA-11 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 IO-14 OIC-04 AEC-11

OMB-01 ACDA-19 EB-11 DRC-01 /177 W
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FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4114

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

USNMR SHAPE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 861

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: FEB SPC DISCUSSION OF VERIFICATION PAPER

VIENNA FOR USDEL MBFR

REF: A) USNATO 763; B) USNATO 528

C) USNATO 497 D) USNATO 236 E) BONN 2404

SUMMARY: DUE LARGELY TO FRG EFFORTS TO HOLD OPEN FOR FURTHER SUTDY
ALL ISSUES AFFECTING IT SPECIFICALLY, ALLIES MADE SLOW PROGRESS
AT FEB 14 SPC MEETING ON VERIFICATION PAPER. BELGIUM ALSO OPPOSED
FRG SUGGESTION PUT FORWARD AT LAST MEETING TO LIMIT PAPER'S FOCUS
TO PHASE I. NETHERLANDS RESERVED ON SUGGESTION AS WELL AS
ALL FRG PROPOSED AMENDMENTS UNTIL BONN WAS READY TO EXPLAIN HOW
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS WOULD BE AFFECTED BY LIMITING
FOCUS TO PHASE I. ON PAPER ITSELF ALLIES RECAPITULATED KNOWN
VIEWS WITH FRG HOLDING FIRM ON NTM, DURATION OF INSPECTORATES,
AND LIAISON OFFICERS. RESULT IS THAT FURTHER BRACKETS AND BRACKETED
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ALTERNATIVES WILL APPEAR IN NEW REVISED DRAFT. ALLIES AGREED THEY
WOULD COME BACK TO PAPER AS SOON AS HAS RECEIVED FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS

,
AND WILL HOLD OPEN FEB 25 FOR NEXT DISCUSSION. MISSION BELIEVES

U.S. SHOULD TAKE EARLY ACTION TO PROBE STATUS AND EMERGING FRG POSITION ON OVERALL VERIFICATION QUESTION. END SUMMARY

1. CHAIRMAN KASTL SUGGESTED THAT ALLIES COMMENT ON FRG AND U.S. PROPOSALS PUT OFRWARD AT PREVIOUS MEETING (SEE REFA). DUSCUSSION FOCUSSED ON FRG PROPOSAL WITH SEVERAL ALLIES ATTEMPTING TO DETERMINE WHY FRG AT THIS STAGE SOUGHT TO LIMIT PAPER'S FOCUS TO PHASE I ONLY. BELGIAN REP (WILLOT) SAID HE WAS OPPOSED TO MAKING ANY DISTINCTION BETWEEN PHASED OTHER THAN THROUGH LANGUAGE APPEARING IN PARA 15. DUTCH REP (SIZOO) SAID THE HAGUE WAS PUZZLED BY FRG PROPOSAL, ESPECIALLY SINCE BONN DID NOT ILLUSTRATE HOW LIMITATION OF FOCUS TO PHASE I WOULD AFFECT REMAINDER OF PAPER, ESPECIALLY ITS RECOM-MENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS. DUTCH COULD THEREFORE TAKE NO POSITION AT THIS POINT ON EITHER THE BASIC IDEA OR ANY OTHER FRG PROPOSED AMENDMENTS. HE POINTED TO FRG'S NEW PROPOSED ALTERNATIVE LANGUAGE FOR BRACKETED SENTENCES IN PARA 38 (TEXT TO BE INCORPORATED IN NEW REVISED DRAFT) AND OBSERVED THAT FRG SEEMED TO WANT TO LEAVE ALL KEY ISSUES OPEN FOR FURTHER STUDY. UK REP (LOGAN) WONDERED WHETHER IT WAS REASONALBE TO PUT FORWARD A PAPER IN WHICH ALL ISSUES WERE DESCRIBED AS REQUIRING FURTHER STUDY. FRG REP (HOFSTETTER) AGREED TO REPORT DISCUSSION AND SEEK INTRUCTIONS. SPC THEN DECIDED TO DEFER CONSIDERING U.S. SUGGESTION PENDING FURTHER REVIEW OF VERIFICATION PAPER. DISCUSSION OF KEY ISSUES FOLLOWS.

2. NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS (NTM) (PARA 5) - UK REP SAID THAT LONDON FOUND U.S. FORMULATION REASONABLE AND USEFUL AND HOPED ALLIES COULD ACCEPT IT. DUTCH REP COULD ALSO ACCEPT U.S. FORMULA. FRG REP SAID BONN WAS NOT SATISFIED WITH U.S. VERSION AND DID NOT LIKE IDEA OF POSTPONING A STUDY FOR WHAT WOULD CLEARLY BE A LONG TIME. FRG'S APPROACH TO OVERT INSPECTION WOULD BE INFLUENCED BY SOLUTION TO NTM QUESTION, ALTHOUGH IT WAS NOT PREPARED AT THIS TIME TO DISCUSS SPECIFICS OF LINKAGE. IN SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSION, TURKEY PROPOSED USING BOTH ALTERNATIVES TOGETHER; BELGIUM ARGUES FOR DOING SAME BUT DROPPING LAST SENTENCE IN U.S. FORMULATION; CANADA SAID ONLY SOLUTION WAS TO STUDY QUESTION RIGHT AWAY; AND U.S. COUNTERED THAT ANY STUDY WOULD BE PREMATURE UNTIL ALLIES DETERMINE WHAT THEY CAN OBTAIN FROM SOVIETS ON OVERT VERIFICATION.

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DISCUSSION ENDED WITH BRACKETS REMAINING ON BOTH ALTERNATIVES.

3. MEASURES OUTSIDE NGA (PARA9) - FRG PROPSOED A COMPROMISE FORMULATION FOR PARA 9 WHICH BELGIAN REP FOUND MORE "REALISTIC." TEXT READS: QTE: THE POSSIBILITY OF OVERT VERIFICTION OF ANY MEASURES WHICH MIGHT BE NEGOTIATED TO APPLY OUTSIDE THE CENTRAL REGION IN GENERAL AND FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE FLANKS IN PARTICULAR SHOULD BE TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION. UNQTE TURKISH REP (TULUMEN) SAID HE PREFERRED TO RETAIN CURRENTLY BRACKETED VERSION. BOTH VERSIONS WILL NOW APPEAR IN BRACKETS IN NEW REVISION.

4. LIAISON OFFICERS (LOS) PARA 10)--FRG REP SAID BONN WAS IMPRESSED

WITH UK ARGUMENTS PUT FORWARD AT LAST MEETING AND THEREFORE WISHED TO RETAIN PROVISION FOR LOS. US REP PUT FORWARD COMPROMISE PROPOSAL OUTLINED REF B AND SUGGESTED ON PERSONAL BASIS FOLLOWING LANGUAGE FOR INCLUSION IN PARA 10 TO ILLUSTRATE IDEA. QTE: IN PUTTING FORWARD THEIR PROPOSALS FOR OVERT VERIFICATION, THE ALLIES AGREE NOT TO INCLUDE A PROVISION FOR ATTACHING LIAISON OFFICERS IN INSPECTORATES. SHOULD THE SOVIETS LATER REQUIRE THEIR INCLUSION, THE ALLIES WILL BE PREPARED TO ACCEDE TO SUCH A PRINCIPLE. IN SO DOING, HOWEVER, THEY WOULD INFORM THE SOVIETS THAT THEIR ACCEPTANCE OF THE PRINCIPLE WILL BE CONTINGENT ON EASTERN AGREEMENT TO SPECIFIC RULES WHICH WOULD REGULATE LIAISON OFFICER ACTIVITY. UNQTE BELGIUM, FRG AND UK AGREED THAT TACTIC WAS GOOD, BUT UK BELIEVED THAT ALLIES SHOULD KNOW EXACTLY WHAT THEIR RESPONSE WOULD BE IF SOVIETS PUT FORWARD A PROPOSAL. US REP'S FORMULATION WILL BE PUT TO CAPITALS AND MEANWHILE GOES INTO BRACKETS.

5. VERIFICATION OF PRE-REDUCTION CONSTRAINTS (PARA 16)--SINCE MATTER HAD BEEN OVERTAKEN BY EVENTS, AND IN ORDER TO TIDY UP PAPER, SPC AGREED TO DELETE PARAGRAPH, ALONG WITH DELETION OF TERM "COLLATERAL" IN TITLE OF PARA 19.

6. DURATION OF INSPECTORATES (PARA 18)--FRG REP SAID BONN WAS NOT PREPARED TO ACCEPT CONCEPT OF A PERMANENT STATIONING OF INSPECTORATES AND THEREFORE PROPOSED DELETION OF THIRD AND FORTH SENTENCES OF PARAGRAPH'S REVISED LANGUAGE (REF C). UK REP REPLIED THAT PRINCIPLE QUESTION WAS TO GUARANTEE THE ALLIES A CONTINUOUS RIGHT OF INSPECTION. IF FRG COULD NOT ACCEPT NEW LANGUAGE UK WOULD THEN WANT TO ADHERE TO ORIGINAL LANGUAGE (PER REF D).

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BELGIUM AND US AGREED WITH UK VIEW. OLD BRACKETED LANGUAGE WILL THEREFORE REAPPEAR IN REVISED DRAFT

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USNMR SHAPE

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7. VERIFICATION OF STABILIZING MEASURES (PARA 19)--FRG, BELGIUM, NETHERLANDS AND TURKEY SAID THEY WISHED TO INCLUDE LANGUAGE IN CURRENTLY BRACKETED LAST SENTENCE. AS COMPROMISE, FRG PUT FORWARD FOLLOWING ALTERNATIVE LANGUAGE. QTE: IN PRINCIPLE, THE POSSIBILITY OF OVERT INSPECTION OF WHATEVER STABILIZING MEASURES ARE NEGOTIATED SHOULD BE KEPT OPEN. UNQTE US REP OPPOSED, WITH RESULT THAT BRACKETED OLD VERSION AND NEW FRG ALTERNATIVE (ALSO IN BRACKETS) GO INTO NEXT REVISION.

8. TURNING TO INDIVIDUAL MEASURES, FRG SAID THAT RE PARA 23, LONGER TERM POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS REQUIRED FURTHER STUDY AND THAT BONN WISHED TO KEEP MATTER OPEN FOR THE PRESENT. HE THEREFORE PROPOSED ALTERNATIVE LANGUAGE FOR CURRENT SECOND AND THIRD SENTENCES WHICH READS: QTE: FOR THE LONG TERM MONITORING OF POST-REDUCTION FORCE LEVELS, THE POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF BOTH SYSTEMS NEED FURTHER STUDY. UNQTE UK REP REPLIED THAT THIS RAISES EARLIER DUTCH QUESTION AS TO WHICH PARAGRAPHS WOULD BE AFFECTED BY FRG DESIRE TO LIMIT PAPER'S FOCUS ON PHASE I. SINCE ALLIES ARE UNDER NO IMMEDIATE PRESSURE FROM VIENNA ON
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VERIFICATION, ALLIES SHOULD STUDY WHAT HAS TO BE STUDIED NOW, AND NOT CONTINUALLY SEEK TO DEFER CONTENTIOUS ISSUES.

9. CHAIRMAN PROPOSED THAT ALLIES TERMINATE FURTHER DISCUSSION OF PAPER SINCE EXISTING DISAGREEMENTS ON ISSUES OF PRINCIPLE WOULD NOT ENABLE THEM TO MOVE ON REMAINING BRACKETED LANGUAGE IN SECTION IV. LOOKING TO FRG, CHAIRMAN CONCLUDED THAT ALLIES WOULD FIRST NEED ANSWERS TO BASIC AND LONG-STANDING QUESTIONS, AND THAT THEY SHOULD NOT COME BACK TO VERIFICATION PAPER UNTIL CAPITALS HAD PROVIDED INSTRUCTIONS. SPC THEREUPON TENTATIVELY AGREED TO COME BACK TO SUBJECT ON FEBRUARY 25.

10. COMMENT: POSITIONS FRG DEL IS TAKING IN BRUSSELS COINCIDE WITH AND ARE EXPLAINED BY ROTH'S RENDITION OF FRG VIEWS ON VERIFICATION AS SET FORTH IN REF E. BONN CONTINUES TO HOLD ENTIRE ISSUE UNDER STUDY, AND HAS APPARENTLY NOT YET INSTRUCTED FRG DEL TO MOVE TOWARD US POSITION ON LIAISON OFFICER QUESTION (PER PARA 5 REF E) OR ON ISSUES OF LESS DIRECT CONCERN TO GERMANS, SUCH AS VERIFICATION OF STABILIZING MEASURES.

11. SINCE MISSION (AND WE SUSPECT FRG NATO DEL) HAS NO CLEAR IDEA WHEN BONN MAY MOVE ON VERIFICATION, WE THINK US SHOULD USE AVAILABLE TIME TO ENGAGE IN BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS WITH FRG, EITHER IN WASHINGTON OR BONN. THIS SHOULD BE DONE, WE THINK, BEFORE VERIF-

ICATION IS AGAIN THE SUBJECT OF A GENERAL AND POSSIBLY DIVERSIVE
DEBATE IN THE ALLIANCE.

12. WE ALSO WISH TO POINT OUT POTENTIAL HAZARDS OF THE US ACCOMMO-
DATING TO ANY FRG POSITION AIMED AT CONTRACTING SUBSTANTIALLY THE
ALLIANCE'S PROPOSED OVERT INSPECTION SYSTEM. ANY EFFORT TO DO SO
PRIOR TO HEARING A SOVIET REACTION, WHICH WE ASSUME WILL BE NEGA-
TIVE, COULD CREATE STRONG RESISTANCE BY UK (FROM THE MILITARY
STANDPOINT) AND AT LEAST BELGIUM/NETHERLANDS (FROM A POLITICAL
STANDPOINT). FOR DIFFERING REASONS, MANY ALLIES SEE IN A RELATIVELY
DENSE OVERT INSPECTION SYSTEM A NECESSARY AND LARGELY ACCEPTABLE
COUNTER VALUE TO FORCE REDUCTIONS.

13. BECAUSE OF THE FAR REACHING PROBLEMS CURRENTLY INVOLVED IN
VERIFICATION, WE SEE LITTLE LIKELIHOOD OF EARLY ACTION ON THE
SPC'S CURRENT DRAFT. WHILE THE AD HOC GROUP HAS INDICATED IT WILL
NOT NEED A DETAILED ALLIED POSITION ON VERIFICATION UNTIL AFTER THE
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EASTER RECESS, WE THINK IT TACTICALLY DESIRABLE TO EXPLOIT ANY
POSSIBILITIES FOR MOVEMENT ON OUTSTANDING ISSUES. THIS, IF ONLY TO
MAINTAIN ALLIED FOCUS ON KEY ELEMENTS IN THE VERIFICATION
PAPER WHICH WE VAFOR. WE WOULD ESPECIALLY WISH TO AVOID GETTING
ALLIED DISCUSSION DIVERTED TO BROADER AND MORE CONTENTIOUS ISSUES
WHICH MIGHT ARISE IF TOO MUCH TIME ELAPSES WITHOUT MOVEMENT ON
SOME ISSUES, AND DURING WHICH THE FRG MIGHT DWELL FURTHER ON ITS
EVOLVING POSITIONS, TO THE POSSIBLE DETRIMENT OF THE OVERALL
VERIFICATION PAPER.

14. WITHIN THE FOREGOING CONTEXT, WE WOULD SEE POSSIBILITY FOR
MOVING IN AT LEAST TWO AREAS WHICH DO NOT DIRECTLY AFFECT FRG
CONCERNS: A POSSIBLE COMPROMISE WITH THE BELGIANS ON VERIFICATION
OF STABILIZING MEASURES, AND EFFORTS TO WORK OUT WITH THE UK A
TACTICAL APPROACH FOR PUTTING FORWARD MOBILE TEAMS. MEANWHILE
WE BELIEVE WASHINGTON SHOULD GIVE CONSIDERATION REGARDING POSSIBLE
ARRANGEMENTS THROUGH WHICH THE NTM ISSUE COULD LATER BE RESOLVED.
WE WILL COMMENT IN SEPTEL ON TACTICAL DETAILS RE THE FOREGOING.
END COMMENT. RUMSFELD

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